

NEW YORK HERALD.

JAMES GORDON BENNETT,
EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.

OFFICE N. W. CORNER OF FULTON AND NASSAU STS.

Volume XXVII. No. 86

AMUSEMENTS THIS EVENING.

ACADEMY OF MUSIC, Irving Place.—ITALIAN OPERA.—
J. BARRETT'S ST. PAUL.

WINTER GARDEN, Broadway.—CAMILLE.

WALLACE'S THEATRE, No. 84 Broadway.—HEIR
AT LAW.LAURA KEENE'S THEATRE, Broadway.—THE MA-
CARTHY, OR THE FIFTH DAY.NEW BOWERY THEATRE, Bowery.—JEAN RENE.—TAT-
LING IN THE FIFTH AVENUE.

MARY PROTESTANT THEATRE, 435 Broadway.—MACBETH.

BARNUM'S AMERICAN MUSEUM, Broadway.—COM-
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the memorial of the Land Office Commissioners, asking that the State Engineer be given power to survey and sell certain lands in the harbor of New York, reported adversely to the request. The report was referred to the Judiciary Committee. A considerable portion of the session was taken up in discussing the bill to amend the gridiron corporations to proceed with the construction of their roads. It was finally defeated by nine yeas to sixteen nays. In the Assembly, the Ways and Means Committee reported a bill transferring from the Comptroller to the County Treasurers the sales of lands for unpaid taxes. The bill to increase the tax on hawkers and peddlers was passed, as well as several others of a private character. The Speaker named a Committee on the Mode of Directing the National Tax. The bill to punish frauds on laborers was reported complete by the Grinding Committee. The bill to amend the assessment laws was considered in Committee of the Whole, and had progress reported. The bill relative to the Kings county Jury Commissioners, was debated at some length.

The steamship Saxonia, from Southampton on the 12th inst., arrived at this port yesterday evening. Her news has been anticipated. Twenty-one emigrants sailed yesterday for Hayti in the bark Chanticleer. They are, with one exception, farmers from the West, and from their appearance will not doubt be a valuable acquisition to that island. A steamer will leave this port for Hayti on the 20th of next month, being the commencement of a regular line sailing from this port on the 20th of each month for the conveyance of emigrants. The Haytian government is making every effort to encourage the settlement of colored persons upon its fertile soil.

Rev. W. T. Conway, Chaplain to Hawkins' Zouaves, delivered a lecture last evening at Continental Hall, corner of Thirty-fourth street and Eighth avenue. The subject was the "Negro," and nothing very interesting was elicited. A large posse of the Twentieth ward police was on duty, in anticipation of a row; but the lecturer was so tame that no one became excited.

There has recently been some inquiry concerning the whereabouts of John C. Breckinridge and Humphrey Marshall. At last accounts the former was in the mountains, in Tennessee, and the latter was trying to squeeze himself through the Cumberland Gap.

Ebenezer Magoffin, a rebel prisoner, has been found guilty by a court martial in St. Louis on the charge of breaking his parole, and sentenced to be shot. The rebels have again commenced the barbarous practice of shooting Union pickets. Three were murdered last week at the canal locks near the Chain bridge.

The Fourth Ohio Volunteers, having taken possession of the office of the *Clark Journal*, at Berryville, have issued a paper of their own, under the title of the *Fourth Ohio Times*. It is a creditable sheet, and plainly shows that the pen goes with the sword in the advance of our army.

The news with regard to the Merrimac caused almost a panic in Wall street yesterday, and stocks declined at one time $\frac{1}{2}$ and 1 per cent. In the afternoon operators picked up more courage, and about half the decline was recovered, the market closing steady. There is no change in money or exchange. Gold was rather firmer.

The cotton market was quite firm yesterday, with sales of 1,100 bales, which, added to 2,700 sold the day before, make the sales in two days amount to 3,800 bales, closing $\frac{1}{2}$ higher than at the close of last week, and firm on the basis of 25c. for middling uplands. By examining the circular of Messrs. Wm. P. Wright & Co., of the 26th March, 1861, we find that the receipts and distribution of the crop from the 1st September, 1860, to the 26th March, 1861, were as follows:

Receipts at the cotton ports from September 1, 1860, to March 26, 1861, bales: 3,147,000
Exported to Great Britain 1,644,000
France 451,000
Other foreign ports, chiefly to North Europe 261,000
Taken by Northern spinners 214,000
Stock on hand, March 26, 1861 677,000
The supplies held in the ports at the present time are uncertain, and said to be quite limited, while the small amounts which have gone to Europe have either run the blockade or have been seized by government and afterwards sold, and in part bought for shipment abroad. The four markets were heavy yesterday for the common grades, with moderate sales. Wheat was inactive and prices irregular, though with some inquiry, in part for milling and in part for export. Corn was more active, and prices unchanged. Pork was dull, with sales at \$12 a \$13 25 for new mess, and at \$10 50 to \$10 75 for new prime. Sugars were steady, with sales of 1,100 to 1,200 hds. and 81 boxes. Coffee was quiet; a sale of 1,300 bags St. Domingo, for export, was made at p. t. Freight was steady, with a fair amount of engagements.

Recent British Policy on the American Question.

British policy has lately changed from threats against the United States to gentle insinuation and friendly suggestion. From the European news received by the China, which we published yesterday, we perceive that the London *Post*, the organ of Lord Palmerston and the whigs, and the London *Herald*, the organ of Earl Derby and the opposition, both agree in the idea that the final separation of North and South, and an "equitable partition of territory," with the recognition of the independence of the Southern confederacy by Europe and the United States, is a mere question of time, for that "it is impossible to reduce to subjection ten (?) millions of freemen determined on a separate government." To the same effect is an article from the London *Times* of March 13, which we published on the previous day, and in which it is intimated that if the war be terminated soon it "will not be terminated by the submission of the seceders," but by "negotiation and separation," which "some of the wisest among the Northerners must have contemplated as a course to be ultimately pursued;" and the *Times* most kindly and disinterestedly suggests that "the government of Washington might let the Gulf States go" on condition of securing the border States, and that the present time, just after the brilliant victories of the North, would be most auspicious for effecting a settlement.

These journals are the organs of the British aristocracy, and the suggestions they make are prompted by their interests and their hatred of democratic institutions. The wish is parent of the thought. Earl Russell himself, in the debate in the House of Lords on the 10th inst., winds up a speech by expressing "a hope that within three months, or sooner, we will see the end of the war," and that it will "end in a manner consistent with the welfare and happiness of both parties—a peaceful separation into two States, both powerful—inhabited by men with very different education, perhaps with very different natures, but who may have before them a career of prosperity for centuries." The suggestion contained in this language cannot be mistaken. It is evidently to the effect that there is an incompatibility between the population of the North and the population of the South, on account of different natures and different education, and that, therefore, it would be for the welfare and happiness of both to separate by a treaty of peace and amity, each pursuing its own destiny.

Now Earl Russell may desire this; but it is very plain that he is ignorant of the question he undertakes to discuss. With far greater reason might he propose to Russia, Austria and Turkey to break up their respective empires, consisting, as they do, each of men of different races, different languages, different religions, different education, different natures and different habits. And some American statesman might with equal propriety rise up in the United States Senate, and advise a separation between the people of England and Scotland, on the ground of different natures and education, and a separation of the Irish people from both, on the ground of still greater incompatibility. England has held the Irish for centuries, against their will, when they were alien in race, language and religion. And does she not to-day hold many millions of Hindoos, who hate her yoke, and who lately struggled in a bloody war to break it. In race language, religion, nature, manners, and all things, they are different from the English. Why does not Earl Russell propose to yield them their independence? There is far greater difference between the inhabitants of two counties of England—for instance, Yorkshire and Middlesex, or Lancashire and Suffolk—than between North and South of the United States. As well might Earl Russell propose to repeal the union of the English Heptarchy, and resolve it into its original elements, as to propose the repeal of the American Union on the ground of the incompatibility of North and South. The people of North and South are of the same Anglo-Saxon and Celtic races, and they speak the same language, with far less difference of dialect and accent than it is spoken by the inhabitants of the North and South of Great Britain. Their education is, for the most part, the same. And so like are the Americans of North and South that when the contending troops meet each other they instantly recognize a kindred people, and begin to wonder why they are fighting. There is far less difference between the people of North and South on the slavery question than is generally supposed in Europe. At the North every State was slaveholding till the institution ceased to pay, and if it had ceased to pay at the South no State of that section would hold a slave to-day. The preponderance of European immigration into the Northern States, and the difference of climates—one being suitable to the labor of the Caucasian, and the other to the labor of the negro—create a difference of interest in the slavery question. But a large majority of the people of the North care nothing about the negro, except to keep him away from them, and hence it is that they object to his going into the common Territories. The antipathy to the negro race is far greater at the North than at the South. It is the interest of the North to employ free white labor. It is the interest of the South, at least of the Gulf States, to employ black labor; and that is best accomplished by servitude. There is no real antagonism; for each system suits the climate, the natural productions and the laboring population of each, and both contribute to the general prosperity, just as do the agricultural population of the West and the manufacturing population of the East. There is, therefore, a harmony of interests instead of antagonism, and North and South are linked together by the same republican institutions, and by a federal Union which provides for the common defence and general welfare. Negro slavery is recognized by the constitution as existing in different States of the Union, and provision is expressly made for its protection. Under that constitution it has continued for seventy-five years; and there is far less reason for abolishing it in the Southern States now than there was at the beginning.

The whole difficulty has been created by a handful of Northern fanatics, who borrowed their inspiration from the British aristocracy. The secession demagogues of the South have taken advantage of their violence, and for mere political party purposes inflamed the passions of the people. A Northern party also seized the opportunity of raising an insincere outcry against slavery, and using the abolition element to bring them into power. They succeeded, though in a minority of the people, just as the democrats formerly succeeded on the tariff and internal improvement questions, and in 1852 upon the idea of ignoring and burying forever the slavery question, which had been settled by compromise in Congress in 1850.

The Southern demagogues and fanatics, defeated in 1860 and stripped of power, resorted to rebellion instead of waiting for another revolution of the wheel of fortune at the ballot box. But the war will soon put down this rebellion, and the question will be settled effectually forever. The abolition disunionists will be crushed, as well as the Southern disunionists, by the conservative majority, North and South, who are opposed alike to both factions; and the agitation can never be revived any more than the corn law question in England or any other defunct party issue. Having received its quietus as a national question, it can no longer create national division. It may hereafter be a subject of discussion for the people themselves of any State in which it exists, and they may abolish or retain slavery, as they think fit. But there the matter ends.

There is no other cause of national dissension among us. Religion, the greatest source of civil war, is excluded from the political arena, not only by the constitution, but by the existence of so many sects. Not so in the British empire. Religion is still one of its chief difficulties, though it is no longer likely to lead to civil war or disruption. For one hundred and fifty years a triangular contest took place between Catholics, Episcopalians and Puritans. At one time one sect was in the ascendant; at another time another sect. At last these conflicts were ended; and, though the people are as much divided in opinion about religion as they ever were, they no longer go to war about it. Who hears now of cavaliers and roundheads, who once deluged the country with the blood of civil war? In England the Episcopal church is the established religion, being that of the majority; in Scotland the Presbyterian is the established religion, being that of the majority; in Ireland the Catholic ought to be the established religion, being that of the majority. It is not so, and that is a gross injustice. The Episcopal church, about one-eighth of the population, is there the established church, and the other seven-eighths pay it a tenth of the whole produce of the earth. Is not that a far greater cause of rebellion and revolution than the existence of negro slavery, which does no injustice to any section of the American republic? Will Earl Russell propose the repeal of the union between Great Britain and Ireland? He will not; for he knows that, united as it now is, the British empire is one of the most powerful in Europe, and one of the greatest the world ever saw. Divided from Ireland, Great Britain would be short of half its strength; and, separated from England, Ireland would have no strength at all. It is then with the United States. It is their union that

constitutes their greatness and their strength, and they will never consent to be divided so as to become the sport and the prey of the great Powers of Europe, or to waste each other by devastating border wars.

THE GOVERNMENT AND ITS EXTRAORDINARY MEASURES.—The report of the Judiciary Committee of the House makes some very curious and amusing revelations about the government censorship of the telegraph. This censorship seems to have been passed around from hand to hand, from department to department, as if none of the Cabinet officers knew exactly what to do with it, and found it, like a red hot poker, a very formidable weapon, but very inconvenient to hold. The censor appears to have been equally unused to his power, and awkwardly stopped harmless despatches to let dangerous ones pass, or kept news from the papers only to enable Bull Run Russell to operate upon stocks. Secretary Seward's passport system is quite as laughable as this censorship. It has proved as inefficient as a paper blockade, and the rebel emissaries have slipped in and out of the country by way of Canada, or, as Thurlow Weed declares, direct from New York, without hindrance or molestation. The imprisonment of suspected persons has done almost as little good; and the government, perceiving its error, is now emptying the State prisons as rapidly as it filled them. All these measures—the censorship, the passport system and the arrest of suspected persons—are of course without authority from the constitution, whose framers never expected that a portion of our people would be insane enough to rebel against their own laws. But, for the time being, extraordinary powers were vested in the government by the emergencies of the times and the cordial assent of the loyal people. That the government has made blunders is very true and very natural under the circumstances; but, all things considered, these blunders have been very few, and it is equally to the credit of the administration and the nation that all our mistakes have been rectified as promptly as possible, and all extraordinary powers have been laid aside the moment the necessity for their exercise no longer existed. No European government can show so clean and fair a record during crises of the same character and importance.

NEWSPAPER LYING, WHITE AND BLACK.—There are two sorts of newspaper lying practiced by our contemporaries—the white and the black. The *Tribune* and *Times* use the black lie—mean, slanderous and despicable; but the poor, old, dull, stupid, sneering *Commercial* deals in silly, ridiculous white lies. For instance, in an article upon the rotten-egging of Wendell Phillips in Cincinnati, the *Commercial* introduces two lies about the *HERALD*. First, it says we changed our course and opinions immediately upon the fall of Fort Sumter; and, second, it declares that we hung out the national flag from our office in compliance with the threatening dictation of a mob. The *Commercial* finds those lies in the gutter, picks them up, washes them, dresses them up in baby clothes, and gives them to its readers as gospel. Would it not be just as easy for the *Commercial* to tell the truth? During the winter of 1860-61 we attacked President Buchanan for his do nothing course, and repeatedly advised him to call out the militia and end this rebellion as summarily as General Jackson ended the nullification emule, by striking a blow directly at South Carolina, and by insuring beyond a doubt the safety of Washington. This Buchanan did not do; and for six weeks after his inauguration President Lincoln seemed to be following the same disastrous line of policy. Therefore, during that time, we opposed him, just as we had opposed his predecessor. But as soon as rebellion attacked and captured Fort Sumter, the President came over to our policy—not we to his—and initiated a true defence of the Union against armed traitors; and we have always since sustained him. So much for this lie, which we have repeatedly exposed, about our change of opinion. As to the story about the mob, that is equally untrue. The abolition organs endeavored to raise a mob against the *HERALD*, in order to save themselves; for a mob did certainly threaten to raze the *Tribune* office to the earth. The *Tribune* escaped this punishment by a very narrow chance; but it was not so successful in its efforts to turn the mob against the *HERALD*; for we were never threatened, were never dictated to, and never hung out a flag upon compulsion. The banner of the Union was displayed from our office simply because the *HERALD* has always sustained and defended that flag. There never was a mob, or anything like a mob, against the *HERALD*. So much for the number two. Would it not be well for the old women in petticoats of the *Commercial* to tell the truth once in a while, by way of a change?

THE DEBATE ON THE TAX BILL.—On Tuesday last the House of Representatives debated the Tax bill, and Messrs. Wadsworth, Cox, Lovejoy, Sedgwick, Blake, Blair, Kellogg, Arnold and others disgraced Congress and made fools of themselves by playing upon words and tickling the inevitable nigger through the whole session. The low wit and coarse buffoonery in which these honorable gentlemen indulged are beneath contempt. If they cannot appreciate the fact that the Tax bill is the most important measure of the year, and that its speedy passage is vitally necessary, at least let them remember that they are paid for their services, and, as honest men, should try to do something to earn their wages. Jokes about "Box and Cox," and blackguardisms about the negro, the people will be slow to take as substitutes for earnest discussion and prompt action. Congress has sufficiently disgraced itself and the nation already, without so signal a display of flippant unconcern about a matter of life and death to the country. If all honest, earnest, loyal citizens could have their will, the tongues of these silly wags in Congress would be silenced most speedily and effectually. Rebellion asks no better aid than the efforts of such members of Congress to hinder necessary legislation.

BOMBASTIC RUSSELL'S LAST.—The last letter of the London *Times* correspondent shows to what an utter condition of bewilderment the present aspect of things here has reduced him. He touches on an infinity of subjects without any apparent connection or object, and seems afraid to venture upon any of those jaunty predictions which were so amusing in his former letters. More rapid, lifeless penny-a-lining than this last epistle of his it would be difficult to meet with.

THE CENSORSHIP OF THE PRESS.—The report of the House Judiciary Committee on the government censorship of the press, in which Mr. Seward for the manner in which he has conducted that business, and some of the journals of his own party join in his condemnation for having arrested secessionists, or those suspected of sympathy with the rebels, for the utterance of their opinions. There can be no doubt that the power exercised by the Secretary of State is antagonistic to the constitution of the United States. It could be only justified by necessity, and that will become a subject of inquiry hereafter, upon which Mr. Seward will have to answer, as well as the other Secretaries who have assumed powers not given by the law of the land.

In the beginning of the rebellion such necessity may have existed; but if it did it has long since ceased to have an existence, and the exercise of an unconstitutional power for one hour after the necessity exists cannot be justified. There is another point on which the conduct of Mr. Seward will be severely questioned, and that is his partiality. If he had arrested such avowed disunionists as Wendell Phillips and Garrison, Cheever and Henry Ward Beecher, and consigned them to the same prison as the sympathizers with the rebels of the South, and had he suppressed the New York *Tribune* and Greeley together, the people would have applauded his course, and no one hereafter would have dared to call it in question. But, as the case stands now, it assumes a very different aspect. In the language of Mr. Seward, in the United States Senate, on Tuesday last, "We have seen peaceful men dragged from their homes and thrown into loathsome bastilles, while a man who declares he has been a disunionist for twenty years is permitted to lecture in Washington, and come on the floor of the Senate, and go at large through the country." Of the radical disunionists the first man has not yet been arrested for his disloyalty, nor have any of their papers been made to pay the penalty of their misdeeds. Here, then, is the vulnerable point in Mr. Seward's career which can be successfully assailed, and nothing is surer than that he will be held strictly to account in a future day of reckoning. Had he been actuated by a spirit of evenhanded justice, and adopted the homely maxim that "what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander," his record would have been unimpeachable, even though he had done that for which he could find no warrant in the constitution. It is not yet too late to set himself right with the public; but he ought not to lose a